LETTER

TO THE

RIGHT HON. MR. HOBART.

A

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TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE

MR. SECRETARY HOBART,

ON THE

PRESENT CLAIMS

OF

CERTAIN ROMAN CATHOLICS.

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LETTER

TO THE

RIGHT HON. MR. HOBART,

&c. &c. &c.

SIR,

FROM the man, who thinks it neceſſary to addreſs you, in the language of truth, an apology for offering the following thoughts to your conſideration, is not to be expected. To decline that ſolicitude, for which there might not exiſt a neceſſity, would be the natural reſult of very

little reflection. To with-hold thoſe ſentiments, which might appear to be erroneous or untimely, would be but a ſlight ſacrifice to him, who deſires to continue nameleſs, and does not covet to be known.

But our circumſtances require ſome ſcrutiny and ſome reſolution: and to aſſiſt you in the one, and to confirm you in the other, are labours of that kind, which, however they may be executed, you will not treat with diſregard. Your ſituation in this country makes it neceſſary, in a great criſis like this, that you ſhould, perhaps, alter that tone of moderation, by which, while men are contented to argue, the oſtenſible Miniſter will be moſt properly diſtinguiſhed. And, if you ſhall be driven to vindicate the Conſtitution, and the Laws, by any ſignal act of puniſhment, it is but juſt to apprize you, by how great a number of the

public

public ſuch a meaſure will be approved, and, if neceſſary, be ſeconded. If you ſhall think it prudent, ſilently to permit thoſe unmaſked traitors, who are inſtigating the people of this country to levy open war upon the Crown, I ſhall have one conſolation—that my tacit acquieſcence, in a popular deluſion, did not contribute a millioneth ſhare to countenance its propagation.

This language, Sir, is, poſſibly, ſomewhat plainer than that to which you have been accuſtomed. It is, in general, the quality of the executive power not to want a ſtimulative to its energy. And, the popular complaint againſt miniſterial jealouſy has been too long, and too loud, to juſtify a ſuppoſition, that it will be ſuſpected, groundleſsly, of winking at ſedition.

If the recommendation I am venturing to give be bold, I honeſtly confeſs I do not otherwiſe intend it.

When there are circulated through the country, in thouſands, and tens of thouſands, letters of invitation and ſummons to all the rioters and lawleſs in the land, exhorting them to array themſelves in battalia for rebellion—when there are iſſued from the Conventicles, in which, it is ſaid, *all the power of the country is repreſented,* letters of marque againſt the Conſtitution —— it is time for us, who have ſomething at ſtake, to try, whether there be not ſtill left, power enough in the Executive Government to bring, upon the heads of thoſe who are *illegally* and *unconſtitutionally* contriving plans of general ruin, the puniſhment of the law—it is time for us to inquire, whether we

ſhall

ſhall be driven, by the confederate ſtrength of private aſſociations, to protect our properties, our liberties, our families, and our religion, againſt the crazy and vicious diſorders of an unlicenſed banditti—it is time for us, if the horrors of a civil war threaten the land, to provide for our defence. It is not a queſtion with us, like that which is put in a vain and vapid declamatory publication of a Club in Dublin, " Whether we may venture to ſettle " in a country, which we love with the natu- " ral preference of men, not the puerile ac- " quieſcence of children." The queſtion is, whether we, who are ſettled in the land, in general the deſcendants of thoſe, by whom its liberty was preſerved, and its people were delivered from the principles of ſlavery, ſhall be ſtripped of our fortunes, and turned from our habitations, the outcaſts of a ſociety, to the protection of which, we could by poſſibility

have

have no claim, but through the compaſſion of our rulers—and upon the ſolution of this, another is contingent—whether, for our rulers, we ſhall chuſe all the rabble in the land.—To determine our minds, and to regulate our conduct, upon theſe ſubjects, I do not ſee a more eligible mode than this, of a public appeal to the firſt Miniſter of a country.

I had hoped, Sir, that ſuch an Addreſs as this would not be neceſſary. I had, not without much, and, I truſt, not a reprehenſible anxiety for the Roman Catholics of Ireland, addreſſed that Body, ſomewhat at large, upon the calamities in which it was attempted to involve them. And, I had the ſatisfaction to find, that the wealthieſt, the higheſt, the wiſeſt, and the beſt amongſt them, concurred in my ſentiments. I had it in my thoughts to addreſs the Proteſtants of Ireland, with a ſimilar view,

of

of expoſing the falſehood of thoſe rank aſſer tions, by which they have been overborne. Stormed, as we are, in the intrenchments of the Conſtitution, and bearded with the unfounded and impudent taunt, that our ſecurity is no better than a rampart of tyrannous prejudices, and inhuman bigotries, erected by a narrow vicious policy upon the foundation of ſelf-intereſt, or reared on the ruins of morality and juſtice, I could not ſuppoſe there was much danger in attempting to repel ſuch aſſailants. A man, who knew his ground, while reaſoning, only, was reſorted to, would, by reaſoning, defend himſelf: while facts, only, were appealed to, by facts would he be corroborated: he would oppoſe recital to recital; he would place profeſſion againſt profeſſion; he would reſiſt falſehood with truth; and he would conquer.

I ſhould

I ſhould not be afraid, Sir, to prophefy ſuch a victory. Nor, ſhould I bluſh in the hour of triumph, at wearing my portion of the laurels, though all the Society of United Iriſhmen ſhould execrate my ſucceſs.

But, the time for argumentations and reaſonings, it ſeems is gone by: and the propoſitions for derangement were ſcarcely become objects of conſideration, when the derangement was planned.——To this letter I annex, for your peruſal, a declaration of war againſt the conſtitution, which has been circulated through the kingdom, at firſt under encloſures to private perſons, and, afterwards, by means of a public impreſſion, unheſitatingly emitted without ſhame or terror.

It is publiſhed, circulated, and avowed, by a ſociety calling itſelf *The Society of United Iriſhmen,*

men, and authenticated, under their aſſociated character, by the ſuperſcription of the name SIMON BUTLER, as their chairman, and the ſignature of JAMES NAPPER TANDY, as ſecretary to the meeting.

On the evident purport and intention of this manifeſto it is unneceſſary to dwell long. From the beginning to the end, it is a ſeditious rhapſody, recommending open war againſt the eſtabliſhed government: a firebrand thrown at the people, for the purpoſe of kindling amongſt them, the flames of civil diſcord, and ſmothering every principle of loyalty, religion and morality, under the ruins of the conſtitution.

Having, in the original Declaration ſtated, as facts, poſitions, which unequivocally aſſert the eſtabliſhed government to be but a tyrannous

 and

and illegal violation of political and natural liberty, they call, by their circular letter, on the body of the people to rife in arms, and wreft, by force, out of the hands in which they are placed, all the legiflative and executive functions. To abolifh the national religion, to degrade the national nobility, to dethrone the king, and to difband the parliament.

They fay the Houfe of Commons does not contain the legitimate reprefentative of the people—that the majority of that Houfe are the hired fervants of the Englifh Government; whofe minifter, here, is appointed for the purpofe of dealing out corruption to them—which, they fay, he has fo effectually done; that he is now the fole reprefentative of the people of Ireland.

They tell you, a more unjuft and abfurd conftitution cannot be devifed than that, which condemns

demns the natives of a country to perpetual ſervitude, under the arbitrary dominion of ſtrangers and ſlaves: and, in this ſtate of abject ſlavery, they call for a ſincere and hearty union of all people for accompliſhing *a compleat and radical reform in Parliament*, by which Iriſhmen of all religious perſuaſions ſhall be eligible as legiſlators.

They tell you, we have no national government—that by the anarchy which exiſts, the ſtrong tyrannize, the rich oppreſs, and the maſs are brayed in a mortar; and that to reſiſt the Government we groan under, with effect, only requires *unanimity, deciſion, and ſpirit*, in the people.

They then call upon the public, to unite with them, and act together againſt *their common enemies:* to concentrate the public power into one

ſolid maſs; the effect of which *once put in motion* muſt be rapid, momentous, and conſequential. And they expect that tranquillity which reſts on the rights of human nature, and *leans on the arms* by which thoſe rights are to be maintained.

They entreat us to look around for men, fit to form thoſe ſtable ſupports, on which Ireland may reſt the lever of liberty; to form an aſſemblage, reſiſtleſs in its power; to draw together our beſt and *braveſt* thoughts—our beſt and *braveſt* men: if there be but ten, the ten muſt be taken: the friends of liberty are to be rallied; the ſpirit muſt be brought into maſs; and the maſs muſt be refined into ſpirit. *They fear no men:* in *great undertakings* they have always found it more difficult to *attempt, than to accompliſh*—and they muſt *perform all they wiſh, if they attempt all they can.*

To

To diſcover the palpable meaning of theſe addreſſes, Sir, requires no penetration. Againſt a government, which they declare to be illegitimate, they ſummon the bravery of the valiant, and co-operation of the people. Bravery is a talent of uſe only in war. Power, put in motion, is only the operation of force. And this force they deſire to concentrate againſt the Government; and upon their principle they are right: it is like the caſe of a madman, who fancies himſelf the emperor of the moon, and thinks it very unjuſt and outrageous, that he ſhould not be put in poſſeſſion of his territory.—It is acquiring right from wrong premiſes. Government not national is uſurpation, to be juſtifiably reſiſted by force. Illegitimate government is tyranny, againſt which the ſword is the reſiſtance warranted by the conſtitution.——It is too evident to be illuſtrated by explanation.

But

But one word more on this ſubject: The laws of this country are not yet formally abrogated: and, by the law of the land it is treaſon, if a man do levy war againſt our Lord the King in his realm, "And this," ſays Sir William Blackſtone, "may be done, by taking arms, not only to dethrone the King, but, under pretence to reform *religion*, or *the laws*, or to remove evil counſellors, or other grievances, whether real or pretended."

Of the effect of this publication, which I preſume to be as complete a ſpecimen of ſedition, as the ſcope of genius or malignity, in the Society of United Iriſhmen, will have ever arrived at, much will be determined, by the immediate conduct which his Majeſty's Miniſter ſhall think it expedient to adopt. Silence, neglect, or inattention, may do much, in contributing to encreaſe that forwardneſs toward

confuſion

confuſion which is now too notorious to continue unregarded. A reſolute, firm, ſteady, and dignified aſſertion of the laws, and the conſtitution, will be equally effectual in checking a temper, which has undiſturbedly grown into a ſize, portentous of danger, merely from the contemptibility and foulneſs of its ſource.

We have hangmen for rebels, and axes for traitors. We have gaols for rioters, and pillories for libellers. And, melancholy a duty as it always is, to viſit upon vice, the puniſhment of its tranſgreſſions, it is a duty, which ought cheerfully to be diſcharged when mercy threatens to become ruinous, and impunity encreaſes, both the numbers of the guilty, and the meaſure of the guilt. Two or three ringleaders, brought to condign puniſhment, in time, may prevent the neceſſity of involving thouſands in their misfortunes: and, it is ſurely a more hu-

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mane and politic exercise of power, to correct the open levying of war upon the constitution, by a few striking examples, in the persons of mischievous and designing men, than to wait until, of necessity, the visitation must be extended to numbers, who shall be objects of pity rather than severity. It is in the nature of man to judge, with natural feelings, and to draw natural inferences from obvious facts. He will naturally conclude that that power cannot resist the force, by which it is unresistingly assailed, and unavengedly insulted. He will think those assertions are true, which are advanced with effrontery and heard without contradiction. He will think, that men possessed of property, endowed with privileges, or enjoying rank, should be willing to preserve these advantages, if they could. If their property be called plunder, their privileges an usurpation, and their rank be branded with the opprobrium

of

of tyranny, why ſhould he contradict aſperſions, to which they liſten without reſentment? If it be demanded as matter of right, that the rank ſhall be aboliſhed, the privileges annihilated, and the property abandoned, who ſhall we expect to advance in their ſupport, but their poſſeſſors? And they, who witneſs ſo much outrage with ſo little oppoſition, will eaſily be miſled to think, that that cannot be puniſhed which is ſuffered to paſs without notice.

I am not unaware, Sir, that it will here be replied to me, that I only encreaſe the importance of theſe men (their malevolence is beyond aggravation) by treating their extravagance ſeriouſly. It will be told me, that no man in his ſenſes can fear the conſtitution of this country ſhall be levelled with the duſt, by an unaſſociated commixture of meanneſs, ambition, turbulence, bankruptcy, and deſperation. I ſhall

hear it ſaid that the order of things will long remain unconfounded, and whole, againſt the attempts of thoſe, who are labouring for their confuſion, only to occaſion a general ſcramble, in which their dexterity may filch whatever is uſeful and valuable from the general ſtock. I may be told, that meanneſs will aſpire to fame, even through martyrdom, and that obſcurity will pant for the irradiations of glory, even through the medium of puniſhment: That he, who has no houſe, will be contented with the ſhelter, even of a priſon, and it will be little mortification to his feelings, who cannot feed himſelf, if he be fed by the public.

In the country I ſhall be told, that this ſpirit of diſorder has gained but few converts, of bitter name, or of little ſagacity. And in the capital, it will be ſaid that it is treating with too much dignity that, which is in itſelf but a burleſque,

burleſque, to ſuffer any real anxiety about the anonymous Declarations that are publiſhed from taverns, by a few unknown, or unnoted, midnight conſpirators. He, who is impeded in the ſtreet by a ſquadron of politicians, bluſtering, in their ragged majeſty, about rights and reforms, and the people, feels any ſenſation as ſoon as terror at the appearance. It impreſſes him with no apprehenſions, when he beholds, ſlinging out of their lurking places, or vomited out of ſome drinking houſe, a club of ſpeechleſs orators, full of the rights of men and porter, belching out their inarticulate mutterings about declarations and teſt oaths; and revolutions, and ſtaggering in the way of every ſober paſſenger.

I am aware, Sir, that, in ſuch obſervations there ſeems much force. It is not by a few inſignificant men, that much miſchief, of any kind, is apparently to be dreaded. And it will

be thought, that the frame of our conſtitution has ſtood too long and weathered too many ſtorms, unhurt, to be effected now by the light breath of angry declamation and frothy diſcontent. I hope it may long continue the object of our love, and the bulwark of our ſecurity.— But, we muſt remember, Sir, that the nobleſt edifice that ever was erected by human contrivance, may, if neglected, be undermined to its deſtruction, by the vermin, toward which the notice of few eyes will be attracted, and which never can become entitled to our obſervation, without exciting diſguſt.

Thoſe men, Sir, may continue unnoticed, and be encouraged, by impunity, long enough, to occaſion much both of diſorder and bloodſhed. Thoſe, who have no rights but the rights of man, which, to them, are profligacy, idleneſs, diſorder, and riot, make no ſecret of their intentions,

tentions, to take the conſtitution by force: We who have ſome rights of citizens, and believe; that the wholeſome rights of man are property, liberty, and ſecurity, cannot ſit ſilent, as the unconcerned ſpectators of ſuch hoſtility. We muſt preſerve ourſelves, and, therefore, we will preſerve the conſtitution.

This will not be a doubtful taſk; tho' it may be a troubleſome and a dangerous one. It may become dangerous and lamentable, by the phrenzy of thoſe who are labouring to embroil us. And ſucceſs in a civil war, never was, and never will be, a matter of exultation to the good, even among the victors. But, we know the principles, and the temper, as well as the numbers of thoſe, who are enliſted under the revolution ſtandard, too well, to expect they can long continue to co-operate, unleſs in the evil of their deſigns.

Perhaps,

Perhaps, Sir, among the wonders of the time, there is nothing more extraordinary, than that, apparently, cordial junction, which, it is ſaid, has taken place between the moſt zealous, and violent, of two ſects, whoſe tempers, manners, politics, and faith, are, and ever have been, in the moſt wide, and unaccommodating, oppoſition to each other. The Papiſts, whoſe genius is intolerance, whoſe religion is bigotry, whoſe politics are deſpotiſm: And the Preſbyterians, a people, who avowedly deteſt a king, as more noxious than a peſtilence, and have not, in their vocabulary, a term of deſcription for the hierarchy, that is not, alſo, a term of infamy, deriſion, or reproach.

That, between two bodies, ſo adverſe to each other, even a temporary coaleſcence could be occaſioned, is only to be accounted for, by that rage for revolution, which it has recently been

attempted

attempted to import from a country, to which, or the fashions of which, as far as I can learn, the morals, the loyalty, or the religion, of these kingdoms, never has been much indebted, and never indebted, for any thing that was good.—REVOLUTION! the *summum bonum* of life—REVOLUTION! the grand zest, by which relish and variety are given to the insipid comforts of prosperity—REVOLUTION! the glorious theme of exultation for those, who burst asunder the bonds of oppression and tyranny, by which they were manacled—REVOLUTION! the great political mortality, under whose stroke all the orders, and distinctions, and powers, of society, are to be levelled and huddled together in one common charnel-house—REVOLUTION! the great magical incantation of battle and victory at which Lettres de Cachet vanished Ludovico Ventis, and the weight of the Bastile, like a pantomimic castle, at the touch of the magi-

cian's

cian's wand, mouldered into ruins—REVOLUTION! the ſpell, by which three and twenty millions of people, endwarfed under the galling debaſement of ſlavery, rouſed their faculties at an inſtant, and ſprung up into giants.

The misfortune of this country, in conſidering the French Revolution, has been, that thoſe who were moſt enamoured with it, had ſtudied it the leaſt. Remembering, only, the waſte, which was ſo recently barren, they looked with rapture on a ſurface, over which all the verdure and beauty of this muſhroom conſtitution were ripened in a day. And, forgetting all the diſparities of ſeaſon and climate, of place and circumſtance, the only object, upon which their imagination reſted with complacency, was the change.

The only queſtion now to be conſidered is, Whether the conſtitution is to be taken by ſtorm,

or

or not. The Papiſts tell you, that it is their inherent right, a right paramount to all poſitive law, becauſe it reſults from the nature of man, that they ſhould have a ſhare in the legiſlature: and the Preſbyterians tell you, that, if the Papiſts riſe to aſſert this right, they will unite in the inſurrection, and the confederate ſtrength of the two bodies will be too much for you to reſiſt.

In ſuch a ſtate as this, Sir, you ſtand upon a precipice, where, if you yield a particle, you are loſt for ever. Give them footing to ſtruggle with you once for the conſtitution, and you will not be able to grapple with them in your fall; or, if you do, it will be, only, in the ſtruggle, to bring you both to the ground, in one common ruin.

If you grant any thing, you grant it to a mob: and by the mob, who have raiſed the preſent clamours, not an atom will be ſacrificed of that conſequence, to be derived from the acquiſition.

The Roman Catholics, you are told, are the majority of the people. They are the power of the ſtate. Let them into Parliament, and it is beyond conjecture or calculation, that they will, in Parliament, have a majority. It is a lame policy, which will truſt to ſuch a majority the ſecurity of the preſent landed property, or the toleration of the preſent eſtabliſhed religion. What ſtands in their way if you give them the power? Your ſtatute-book; a few muſty votes paſſed, as they will tell you, by a ſet of uſurpers, who became, by accident, enabled to violate all the rights of man and nature, and to erect a ſyſtem of tyranny, which it would, to act con-

ſiſtently,

ſiſtently, be their duty, and, at all hazards, would be their purpoſe to aboliſh and obliterate. With them, the laws of this country are but a tyrannous exerciſe of power, over weakneſs. With them, the forfeitures of their ſect are no better than the plunder of conqueſt, taken in times of hoſtility, and the objects of recaption whenever they ſhall be adequate to retake this booty. The Society of United Iriſhmen fortify this ſentiment in their new brethren the Catholics, by telling them that the ſituation of this country, for a century back, has been a ſtate of war. If it have been a ſtate of war, we are yet not in peace, and thoſe, who rally now, becauſe they think themſelves ſtrong, for the purpoſe of wreſting, by force, that, to which they think themſelves legally entitled, need no commentators to prove that, whatever they obtain they will conſider as the ſpoils of battle, won from the vanquiſhed.

You are told, Sir, in plain terms, that the Proteſtant government is an uſurpation, from which it is conſtitutional to drive us by force.— Time, though it has given us age, they ſay, has brought no ſtrength to our aſcendancy. Obedience to our ordinances has given no authority to ordinances, in their nature vicious. Poſſeſſion has conferred no right of property on thoſe who derive under a title radically illegal.

If the Papiſts, though unqueſtionably the moſt numerous, ſhould not appear to be the moſt powerful, the other contingency is, that the Preſbyterians will become aſcendant.

But in fact, and ruinous as it muſt obvious be, for this kingdom, to be ſubmitted to either party, the proſpect, which opens from the preſent ſituation of affairs here, unleſs ſpeedy and firm

firm meaſures be taken to prevent it, is that of a complete and irrecoverable anarchy, under the ill-concerted and diſcordant junction, between the deſperate and violent among both thoſe parties. Men, who own no God, who follow no religion, who honour no king, who obey no law; but think that the conſtitution is no more than an unſhapen maſs, which every man, into whoſe hands it may fall, or who can lay his hands on it, is at liberty to mould into every fantaſtic form he pleaſes.

While the dangers, which threaten this country, are yet only imminent, it behoves you much, Sir, to look to its ſituation. To relieve the nation from thoſe broils, which are fomenting, and to preſerve the national connexion between Britain and Ireland, if you ſuffer the miſchief to get an head, they will offer but two expedients, of which neither the one nor the other

will

will be tolerable to the people, nor palatable to the friends of government. We muſt be driven to the eſtabliſhment of a permanent military force, in the ſhape of a militia, of monſtrous burden, and great irkſomeneſs to the people: Or, we muſt ſubmit, at once, to an union with Great Britain, and ſo be contented to purchaſe a merely ſubordinate and unworthy ſecurity, againſt thoſe calamities, from which our inſufficiency ſhall not have protected us.

Theſe, Sir, are alterations which the landed gentlemen of this country conſider with much apprehenſion, and ſome jealouſy.——The immenſe patronage, to be immediately added to the Crown, by a national militia, though it may be rendered abſolutely neceſſary on ſuch an occaſion as I have mentioned, would, perhaps, ultimately, give the executive power a preponde-

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rancy in the political balance, beyond that meaſure, which is ſafe and conſtitutional.——The country gentlemen of Ireland will view, with great curioſity, and diſcountenance, by very reſolute conduct, every thing which may have a tendency toward the adoption of this meaſure. The Roman Catholics will do ſo, becauſe of the taxation; and the Proteſtants will be no leſs ſcrutinous and ſpirited, becauſe of the taxation—which they muſt feel no leſs, and the influence which they dread more than the others.

On an union, it is not neceſſary to tell the ſentiments of any man, who underſtands the meaning of the term. On that meaſure, by which all that is elegant and poliſhed, in ſociety, ſhall be led to abandon the iſland; by which every man of large fortune, or valuable connexions, muſt become an alien to the land that ſupports him;

him ; by which, of courſe, all the ſpecie of the country muſt be drained out of it, to be ſpent on the luxuries of another ; by which the arts muſt decline, and manufactures rapidly dwindle away—On ſuch a meaſure as this, there cannot be two opinions. Every man would oppoſe it: and every thinking man will now feel himſelf rouſed to oppoſe thoſe phrenzies, by which ſuch a ſtep may be rendered expedient.

The time requires the public mind ſhould be ſatisfied, that the machine of the conſtitution is too well preſerved, to be clogged or overturned by the frothy boaſting of a few vain demagogues: and that we ſhall not be driven, either to a ſtanding national militia, or an union to keep them in order.

There is reſulting from the foreſight of theſe two conſequences, which I have mentioned, a third,

third, that deſerves no little conſideration. It is a conſtitutional aſſociation of the independent landed and monied men of Ireland. By many of this deſcription it is thought that little more will be neceſſary than ſuch an union, if they ſhall be driven to form it, in defence of the conſtitution.

They think, that thoſe, who have fortune and rank in the country, ought, in ſuch an emergency, to ſtand up like men, and avow, early, that they will do that to which Nature will impel them, if any commotion render it neceſſary; that they will ſupport that eſtabliſhment, and order of things, upon which the advantage of ſociety reſts: that the gentlemen of landed fortune and commercial wealth, throughout the kingdom, ought to declare their fixed reſolution, to prevent the wretched dregs of a

 beſotted

beſotted faction from bringing the whole political eſtate into a general hotch-pot.——They think it not unwiſe, to labour with thoſe who are not yet infected by this blighting peſtilence, with all their natural and conſtitutional influence, in checking the progreſs of a plague which threatens their deſtruction. It is a conſtitutional influence, when the rich perſuade the poor, without oppreſſion. It is a conſtitutional influence, when the landlord calls upon his tenant to join him in ſecuring the quiet poſſeſſion of their common ſtock. It is a natural influence, when the employer urges to his workmen the neceſſity of laws, and the comforts of protection. It is a conſtitutional duty, to labour with every man, in the loweſt as well as the higheſt ranks, in ſupport of that ſyſtem, by which the peaſant, in his cottage, is as fully protected as the prince upon his throne: by which poverty may, by law, withſtand the oppreſſion of power, and the

highest prerogatives of the monarch are valid in their exercise, only, when they are directed to the good of his people.

To abash, into their native obscurity, and becoming silence, those democratical factions, which are now become too clamorous to be any longer contemptible, it is imagined, that, if recourse must be had to such a measure, the most effectual resistance to them will be made by such a society, comprising none, but men of real independence, in the country, of every persuasion, who will declare their fixed resolve, to uphold a constitution, which time has proved to be better adapted than any other on earth, to preserve the happiness of the people.

To such a body, holding a firm, middle course, between the disquiet of faction, and the abuses of authority, any minister will anxiously look

for ſupport; and from ſuch a body he will naturally receive counſel, which can never be light, and communications which will never be unheeded.

To ſuch a ſociety the people will ſucceſsfully look up, for a watchful and ſcrutinous guardianſhip of their real ſecurity, againſt theoretical innovation and haſty change, as well as againſt the encroachments of power, if by power encroachments ſhall be attempted. By ſuch a ſociety will thoſe be kept from wandering into raſh and miſchievous ſpeculations, whoſe temper has all the reſtleſſneſs of political enterprize, and who, by their talents and their ſtation are deſtined to be ſubordinate.

Whether there ſhall be any occaſion to form an union of this kind, will be, in a great degree, determined by the conduct which you, Sir, ſhall

think

think it prudent to purſue. It is thought, I know, by many, that if the Gentlemen of the country, who have fortune to hazard, and character at ſtake, were to make a cool and reaſonable aſſociation, of this kind, we ſhould hear no more of revolutions. It is ſuppoſed, that the inſignificance of thoſe impudent and abject diſturbers, by whom a revolution is called for, will ſhrink back, ſtricken and diſmayed by ſuperior virtue and ſuperior ſtrength. The honeſt, determined aſpect of a body reſpectable, ſtanding on the firm ground of the known conſtitution, will be able to look their ſtaring horrors out of countenance.

But it is an expedient of great magnitude and ſome danger. From the combination of force, among a numerous and ſpirited people, while that force is determined toward extrinſic miſchief, perhaps more of the advantage, than evil,

will

will refult to the people fo combined. But woe betide that country, in which one part of its inhabitants is compelled, for felf-defence, to prove its ftrength, however fuperior, againft the other.

To avert this calamity while it be yet time, Sir, is the object of this Letter. The commerce of the country, the property of the country, its government, laws, and religion, muft be fecured and preferved. And to you, Sir, fhall we naturally look for fufficient meafures, for their fecurity and prefervation.

I have already, Sir, fuggefted the mode which appears the moft eligible.

But, let the time pafs, and the fame conduct which would be conclufive now, will, then, only ferve to irritate and encreafe the paffions of the difcontented.

To

To continue the internal peace and prosperity of this kingdom; to preserve the federal connection between it and Great Britain; to maintain the constitution, and save the religion of the land, are the objects which may result from your present conduct. And, with views of so great and momentous a magnitude as these, rigour may cease to be severity: lenity may be no longer continue to be humane. Compromise, or accomodation, of any kind, for the present, must necessarily produce only further arrogance, and more flagrant sedition.

You cannot, Sir, be blinked to the glare of these menaces, with which the constitution is demanded of you. To make any concession, in such circumstances, nothing can be retained.— To retain the liberties and prosperity we have, nothing can be granted: and there is requisite to preserve those blessings to the people of this country,

country, but a firm, a cool and intrepid resolution, to yield nothing of that, of which no portion can be surrendered without the ruin of the entire.

I am, Sir,

&c. &c. &c.

DUBLIN,
Jan. 16, 1792.